WASHINGTON, D. C. THE DEFEAT OF THE COALITION IN MASSA

CHUSETTS, AND THE REJECTION OF THE NEW The intelligent writer of the following commu nication, who furnishes so clear and succinct an

account of the causes which led to the recent overthrow of the Coalition in Massachusetts. will pardon us for omittin, one or two personal allusions. Deeply regretting, as we do, the defeat of our friends, and of their great and beneficial measure, they will justify us, we know in observing a proper reserve in regard to personar differences among them. We leave to the Union and to Caleb Cushing the task of participating in the local difficulties and controversies of the States.

We trust that the work of constitutional reform in Massachusetts may never be abandoned. Such a combination of adverse influences can hardly ever exist again. We have not the slightest doubt that a large majority of the People of Massachusetts will sustain a renewed movement for constitutional reform.-Ed. Era.

BOSTON, Nov. 26, 1853.

To the Editor of the National Era: The friends of constitutional reform hav been beaten by a combination of influences, and by a coalition of men of every shade of opinion. I propose to state, for the information of your readers who may take some little interest in our local affairs, what the proposed amendments were, and to show why and how they have been defeated.

The Convention submitted the results of it labors to the people, in eight discinct propositions The first proposition contained the framework of the Government. Most of the changes embraced in this proposition were adopted by the almost unanimous voice of the Convention. The following changes were embraced in proposition No. 1, to wit: 1. That the pay of the members of the Legis

lature shall be limited to one hundred days. That the compensation of the members of the Legislature shall be fixed by general laws but no act increasing the compensation shall apply to the members passing the act.
3. That the members of the Senata and House of Representatives shall, in all elections

vote wire voce. 4 That the Commonwealth shall be divide into single districts of contiguous territory, apous equal in population as may be, for the choice of Senators 5. That the plurality rule shall apply to th

election of Senators.

6. That a majority of the whole Senate shall be a quorum to do public business.
7. That sixty-four towns of less than or

thousand inhabitants, shall each have six Rep. resentatives in each deceppial period of te 8. That seventy-five towns, now partially distranchised, shall each have an annual represen

ation in the House of Representatives. 9 That towns of four thousand and less than eight thousand inhabitants, shall each be entitled to two Representatives.

10. That the mean increasing ratio shall be four thousand inhabitants.

11. That the cities shall be districted for the choice of Representatives- one district to

elect more than three Representatives." 12. That the Legislature of 1856 shall divide the Commonwealth into forty single districts, for the choice of Senators; and into single or double districts, for the choice of not less than 240 nor more than 320 Representatives; the districts to be of contiguous territory, and as nearly equal as may be, in the number of qualified veters in each district; and submit to the people, at the annual election in 1856, a plan district exerem thus constituted for their ratification or rejection.

13. That one hundred members of the House fort from other sources.

or doing business.

14 That the titles of "His Excellency,"

and "His Hoxon," be expunged from the Con-15 That the property qualification of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor be expun-ged from the Constitution.

16. That the Councillors shall be elected b the people in single districts, by a plorality of 17. That the records of the Council shall l

open to the examination of the public. 18. That Councillors shall not be appointed on any commission, or to any place, and re-ceive compensation therefor.

19. That the oaths of office shall be admit istered to the members of the Council by the

President of the Senate, "in presence of the and Attorney General, shall be chosen by the

people, annually, at the general election.
21. That Judges of Probate, Registers Probate, Sheriffs, Commissioners of Insolvene District Atterneys, and Clerks of the Cour shall be elected trieunially, by the people of their respective counties and districts, and by the plarality rule. 22. That the Register of Deeds, County

Treasurers, and County Commissioners, shall be elected at the general election for three years, by a plorality of the votes 23. That the Justices of the Supreme

and Court, and the Justices of such inferior courts as are or may be established by law, shall hold their commissions for ten years, sub ject to re-appointment.

24. That Trial Justices shall be elected by

the people of the office and towns, for the term of three years

Courts shall be chosen by the people of the cities and towns, for the term of three years. 26. That the tax qualification to vote for any National or State officer shall be abolished. 27. That all ballots required by law to be given at any National, State, county, district, or city election, including the election of Representatives, trial justices, justices and clerks of police courts, shall be deposited in sealed en-28. That the day of the annual election shall

be the Tuesday next after the first Monday of November.

29. That the Legislature shall have power to provide for the election of State officers, Representatives to the General Court, and municipal officers, by a plurality of the votes given That Major Generals shall be elected by the Brigadier Generals and Field Officers.

31. That the "Legislature shall always have full power and authority" "to alter, limit, au-nut, or restrain, any of the powers now vested in the President and Fellows of Harvard College," "provided the obligations of contracts

32. That the Legislature shall provide for the enlargement of the School Fund until it shall amount to two millions of dollars, to be forever kept "inviolate" for "the improvement

33. That the people shall yete on the ques tion of cailing a Convention for the revision of the Constitution, in 1873, and in every twentieth year thereafter; and the Legislature shall submit the question to the people at any time, on the application of one-third of the voters voting for the same at any annual election. This first proposition was finally adopted, by

The second proposition declared that the writ of habeas co pus shall be granted as a right in all cases in which a discretion is not especially gonferred upon the court by the

was finally adopted by a vote of 169 to 17.

The third proposition declared that "in all trials for criminal effences, the jury, after having received the instructions of the court, shall have the right, in their verdict of guilty or not guilty, to determine the law and the facts of

The fourth proposition declared, that "every parson baving a claim against the Common-wealth ought to have a judicial remedy there-

It was adopted on the final vote, by 183 to 6. The fifth proposition declared that "no per-son shall be imprisoned for any debt hereafter

contracted, unless in cases of fraud." This amendment was adopted by a vote of

to any religious sect for the maintenance exlusively of its own schools. This proposition was finally adopted by a

rote of 159 to 24. The seventh proposition declared that "the Legislature shall not create corporations by special act, when the object is attainable by general laws

The eighth proposition declared that "the Legislature shall have no power to pass any act granting any special charter for banking purposes or any special act to increase the capital stock of any chartered bank; but corporations may be formed for such purposes, or the capital stock of chartered banks may be increased, under general laws." This proposition was finally adopted by a vote of 153 to 36.

These wise, moderate, and beneficent reforms in the organic law of Massachusetts, have been defeated by a combination of interests never before united in action. Most of these reforms were borrowed from the Constitutions of the new States, or from the new Constitutions of the older States. The people of other States will be not a little surprised to learn that mea-

wealth. The Whig party originally opposed all amendments to the Constitution. In 1850 and 1851 that party contended against any change of the Constitution. When amendments were proposed in the Legislatures of 1850 and 1851, the members of that party voted them down When a Constitutional Convention was pro posed, they denied its constitutionality, and voted against it. All of the proposed amendments. however, received in the Convention the sup-port of Whig members. When the Convention djourned, several Whig members expressed their intention of voting for them. It was the pinion of men of all parties that the amend ments would be adopted by an immense majorty. A few days after the adjournment of the Convention, a meeting of Whig editors and pol-iticians was held in Boston. These politicians Whig party. A member of the Whig State Committee said to a Seward Whig, of New York, that "the existence of the Whig party depended upon the defeat of the New Constitution-that its adoption would place the Colitionists in power for ten years. At this meeting it was resolved upon to oppose the amended Constitution. An indiscriminate warfare was opened upon the work of the Conven-

At the Whig State Convention it was resolved to oppose the amendments—to go for amendconversion to reform served to delude a portion of the progressive Whigs, who were in favor of reform. The Whigs were united—the oppo-nents of change and the friends of reform joined hands to defeat the amendments, for which many of their delegates in the Convention had ted for the new Constitution.

By the general ticket system, Boston elected six Senators and forty-four Representatives, on market. How can an honorable mind, a pa-one ticket. The new Constitution divided the triot, and a lover of his country, bear to see State into single Senatorial districts, and the this ancient Dominion, rendered illustrious by cities into district, for the choice of Representatives. This blow at the general ticket system. by which a few men, the representatives of grand menagerie, where men are to be reared great interests, had been able to control the nominations in Boston, and through that delegation to control the Legislature of the State. was the sin of the Convention, in the eyes of and the wise of every creed and every clime to the conservative leaders of Boston. Power would abolish it! The trader receives the slave—a pass from the hands of the few in Boston to the stranger in language, aspect, and manner—people, if the new Constitution should be adopt-from the merchant, who has brought him from d. Of course, State, Beacon, and Milk streets | the interior. The ties of father, mother, huspoured out money like water, to preserve a sys- band, and child, have all been rent in twain. tem by which the few had been able to contro Boston and the State. But, with all these callous. means to control affairs, the Whigs would have been powerless to effect the defeat of the amend-

of Representatives shall constitute a quorum . The Hunker Democrats were the first to give for protection, he tears from the mother's arms. that "aid and comfort" At their State Con- and sells into a strange country, among strange vention, held in Boston on the 224 of Septem ber, these men, whose hatred of Anti-Slavery is only equalled by their love of rum, came out against the constitutional amendments. These in money. I wish it were money, sir, or any-Hunkers hated the new Constitution because it thing else than what it is. It is not money was framed by the Coalitionists. They denound is labor—it is the labor which produces that ced it as a Free Soil instrument, framed to put for which money is the representative. The the Free Soil party in power. This combinatinterest on money is 4 to 6 per cent. The hire tion of negro-hoters and rum-lovers gave about of male slaves is about 15 per cent, upon their

> the new Constitution. The Union Association of liquor dealers and distillers, wielding great quently depicted in ruining the country. influence in Boston and other large places, came out in their organ, the Chronicle, against th adoption of the amendments. This Association of liquor dealers even wanted the nomination and election of 6 Senators and 44 Representa-tives in Boston. They were opposed to the new Constitution because it broke up the general ticket system, which enabled them to wield such commanding influence in Boston and in the State. These men hated the Free-Soilers because most of them were Maine Law

The Catholics, as a body, took the field against the New Constitution. Their organ, some 80 members of the Senate and House of Representatives, and thus control the State. The article concerning scetarian schools gave great offence to the Catholics. On the Sabbath preceding the election, many of the priests told their followers to vote against the new Consti-tution; and on Monday, hundreds who had attended during the previous week meetings, and cheered the new Constitution, voted against it. This action of the Catholice, so unexpected to the men with whom many of them acted, had great influence on the result. The vote of Boston, Roxbury, Lowell, Blackstone, and other towns, where Catholic voters reside, shows the power of these voters when they act in union. Here we find the Whigs, the Hunkers, the Rummies, and the Catholies, combined to defeat the new Constitution, and to crush the men who framed it. The motives by which this coalition of interests and men were guid-

as a God-send to them in their hour of need. They caught at it, printed it, and scattered it broadcast over the State. This blow aimed sustained him with heroic fidelity, spirited and roused the Whigs. Few Free-Soilers were affected by it. They remembered that this was not the first blow they had received from the

Mr. Charles F. Adams also came out in speech against the new Constitution. His speech was printed by the Whigs for circulation. This, however, was not an unexpected demon-

stration But the most crushing blow came from "C. Cushing " His letter against the Coalition completely paralyzed a portion of the Democratic party. The party was thrown into doubt and confusion. Many of the most active work-ers ceased their labors. Many presses refused to put up the Coalition tickets, or took them out of their columns. Cushing's letter gave the finishing blow to the wounded Constitution, and to its friends. If the Administration had let the Democrats of this State alone, the Constitutional amendments would have been adopted, and the Coalitionists would have carried

the State. been voted down by about 4,500 votes. The combination of Whigs, Hunkers, Catholies, Rummies, and Conservatives of every hue and stripe have defeated those beneficent amendments. In spite of all adverse influences, 68,000 men voted for reforms—reforms that will yet be achieved. The friends of constitutional reform owe a debt of gratitude to Sumner, Dana, Allen, Buckingham, Keyer, Webb, Swift, and others, among the Free Soilers; and to Bout-The exth proposition declared that "all well, Banks, Griswold, Butler, Hallett, and oth-moneys raised by taxation or which may be ers, among the Democrats, for their labors beappropriated by the State for the support of for the people in explanation and defence of sommon schools, shall never be appropriated the work of the Convention.

For the National Bra THE SOUTHERN PLATFORM:

MANUAL OF SOUTHERN SENTIMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY

teng a Compilation from the Writings of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and others, whose names are consecrated in the affections of the Southern People—the Debates in the Federal and State Conventions which framed and ratified the Constitution of the United States-those which occurred in the first Congresses which sat during the Administration of General Washington-and extracts from the Debute in the Virginia Legislature in 1832 : with various letters, judicial decisions, &c. BY DANIEL B. GOODLOK, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

(conclubed.)

DEBATE ON EMANCIPATION, IN THE VIR-GINIA LEGISLATURE, IN 1832. Extracts from the speech of Thos. J. Randolph,

of Albemarle.
I will quote, in part, the statistics of the gentleman from Dinwiddie, whose accuracy canures so bendent, so truly Democratic, have not be questioned. Judging the future by the been voted down by the people of this Commonwealth.

not be questioned. Judging the future by the past, in forty years the colored population in Eastern Virginia will exceed the white 200,000. In the last forty years, the whites in the same district have increased 51 per cent., the blacks 186 per cent. Forty years ago, the whites exceeded the colored, 25,000; the colored now exceeds the whites \$1,000-a net gain of the blacks over the whites, in forty years, of 106,000; and these results, too, during an exportation of near 260,000 slaves since the year 1790-now perhaps the fruitful progenitors of half a million in other States. By reference to Document No. 16, on your table, you will per-ceive that, in the year 1830, of that part of the population of ten years old, and under, the blacks exceed the whites 26 per cent.; over that ago, only 3 per cent. What a change will not eighteen years make for the worse, those children shall be grown; what a change iticians was held in Boston. These politicians and editors had somehow been impressed with the rediculous idea that the adoption of the rediculous idea that the rediculous idea tha the ridiculous idea that the adoption of the and mothers, and some of them grandmothers? If exportation ceases, some of those now within the hearing of my voice may live to see the colored population of Virginia 2,000,000, or 2,500,000; children now born may live to see them 3 000 000, determining their increase by their average increase in the United States in the last forty years

Sir, is not this the case of the salus popula demonstrated to exist in the certain future Who will be so hardy as to assert that, when the time arrives, a remedy can be applied? Who will say that 2,000,000 can be attempted to be removed? They will say to you, long ments either through the action of the Legisla-ture, or by a new Convention. This sudden plies that wise maxim of the law, "Veniente ecurite morbo," (meet the coming ill.)

The gentleman has spoken of the increase po of the female slaves being a part of the profit in It is admitted; but no great evil can be avert ed, no good attained, without some inconveni of their delegates in the Convention had Perhaps 5,000 out of 60,000 Whigs vorable to foster and encourage this branch of profit. It is a practice - and an increasing practice in parts of Virginia-to rear slaves fo in the cause of Liberty, converted into one that trade which enlisted the labor of the good Before he receives him his soul has become

But here, sir, individuals, whom the master has known from infancy, with whom he has ments, if they had not received "aid and com- been sporting in the innocent gambols of childopinion, sir, it is much worse.

He has compared slave property to a capital 5.000 votes—4.000 of which were from the Democratic party. Value. In ten years, or less, you have returned your principal, with interest. Thus it is with much of the one hundred millions of property quently depicted in ruining the country. He has attempted to justify Slavery here, because it exists in Africa, and has stated that it exists all over the world. Upon the same principle he could justify Mahometanism, with its plurali-ty of wives, petty wars for plunder, robbery, nd murder, or any other of the abominations and enormities of savage tribes. Does Slavery exist in any part of civilized Europe? No, sir in no part of it. America is the only civilized Christian nation that bears the opprobrium. In every other country, where civilization and Christianity have existed together, they have erased it from their codes, they have blotted i

The Catholies, as a body, took the field against the New Constitution. Their organ, the Pilot, assailed it and its friends. The Catholics were appealed to, as a body, to vote against this Free Soil Constitution. The notorious O. A. Brownson took the stump, and told the Irish voters of Lowell, Quincy, and other places, that by the general tacket system they could in a few years control the election of constitution of Slavery. I would ask him upon what part of those sublime precepts does he advert, to sustain his position? Is it that which teaches, and constitution of the Scatter of the that ye do unto others as ye would they should do unto you?"

Extracts from the speech of Henry Berry, Jefferson.

Sir, I believe that no cancer on the physical body was ever more certain, steady, and fatal in its progress, than is this cancer on the political body of the State of Virginia. It is eating into her very vitals. And shall we admit that the evil is past remedy? Shall we act the part of a puny patient, suffering under the ravages of a fatal disease, who would say the remedy is too painful, the dose too nauseous, I cannot bear it; who would close his eyes in despair, and give himself up to death !

sir; I would bear the for the sake of health.

I believe it is high time that this subject discussed and considered by the should be discussed and considered by the people of Virginia. I believe that the people the new Constitution had nothing whatever to do with the que tion. Each of these combined interests had its own selfish motives and objects interests had its own selfish motives and objects of all the aid and comfort given to the constitution of all the aid and comfort given to the constitution of all the aid and comfort given to the constitution of all the aid and comfort given to the constitution had nothing whatever to the constitution had nothing whatever to the constitution had nothing whatever to the new Constitution had nothing whatever to do with the que tion. Each of these combined interests had its own selfish motives and objects. In spite of all the aid and comfort given to the Whigs by the Hunkers, Rummies, and Catholies, they had but little hope of defeating the reformers. Their meetings were few and thinly attended. In this emergency, Mr. Palfrey came to their aid. His pamphlet came frey came to their aid. His pamphlet came their knowledge of these things-in their knowledge of their own weakness.

Pass as severe laws as you will, to keep these by Mr. Palfrey at his old friends, who had unfortunate creatures in ignorance, it is vain, unless you can extinguish that spark of intelunless you can extraguest that spark of intel-lect which God has given them. Let any man who advocates Slavery, examine the system of laws which we have adopted (from stern ne-cessity, it may be said) towards these crea-tures, and he may shed a tear upon that; and would to God, sir, the memory of it might be blotted out forever. Sir, we have, as far as possible, closed every avenue by which light might enter their minds; we have only to go one step further to extinguish the capacity see the light, and our work would be completed; they would then be reduced to the level of the beasts of the field, and we should be safe; and I am not certain that we would not do it, if we could find out the necessary process-and that under the plea of necessity. But, sir, this is impossible. And can man be in the midst of freemen, and not know what freedom is? Can he feel that he has the power to assert his lib-erty, and will he not do it? Yes, sir; with the certainty of the current of time will he do it, whenever he has the power. Sir, to prove that the time will come, I need offer no other argument than that of arithmetic, the conclusions from which are clear demonstrations on this subject. The data are before us all, and every man can work out the process for him-self. Sir, a death-struggle must come between the two classes, in which the one or the other will be extinguished forever. Who can contemplate such a catastrophe as even possible, and be indifferent ?

Extract from the speech of Thomas Marshall, of

ishes the yeomanry of the country, deprives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, of employment and sup-port. The evil admits of no remedy. It is increasing, and will continue to increase, until the whole country will be inundated with one black wave covering its whole extent, with a few white faces here and there floating on the surface. The master has no capital but what is vested in human flesh; the father, instead of being richer for his sons, is at a loss to provide for them. There is no diversity of occupations, no incentive to enterprise. Labor of every species is disreputable, because performed mostly by slaves. Our towns are stationary, our villages almost everywhere declining; and the general aspect of the country marks the curse of a wasteful, idle, reckless population, who have no interest in the soil, and care not how much it is impoverished. Public improvements are neglected, and the entire continent does not present a region for which nature has done so much, and art so little.

Extracts from the speech of James McDowell, jr. of Rockbridge.

Who, sir that looks at this property as legislator, and marks its effect upon our nation al advance, but weeps over it as the worst of patrimonies? Who that looks to this unhappy bondage of our un sappy people in the midst of our society, and thinks of its incidents and its issues, but weeps over it as a curse upon him who inflicts as upon him who suffers it?

If I am to judge from the tone of our debat from the concessions on all hands expressed there is not a man in this body—not one, per-haps that is even represented here—who would not have thanked the generations that have gone before us, if, acting as public men, they had brought this bondage to a close — who would not have thanked them, if, acting as private men, on private notions, they had relin quished the property which their mistaken kindness has devolved upon us. Proud as are the names, for intellect and patriotism, which enrich the volumes of our history, and reveren tially as we turn to them at this period of waning reputation, that name, that man, above all parallel, would have been the chief, who could have blotted out this curse from his coun try-those, above all others, would have re ceived the homage of an eternal gratitude who, casting away every suggestion of petty interest, had broken the yoke which in an evil hour had been imposed, and had translated, as a free man, to another continent, the outcast and the wretched being who burdens ours with his presence, and defiles it with his crimes.

But, sir, it has been otherwise appointed Slavery has come down to us from our fathers. and the question now is, Shall we, in turn hand it over to our children-hand it over t them, aggravated with every attribute of evil Shall we perpetuate the calamity we deplore and become to posterity the objects, not of kindness, but of cursing?

Sir, you may place the slave where please-you may dry up, to your utmost, the fountains of his feelings, the springs of his thought-you may close upon his mind every avenue to knowledge, and cloud it over wit artificial night-you may yoke him to your labor, as the ox, which liveth only to work, and worketh only to live-you may put him under any process, which, without destroying his value as a slave, will debase and crush h a rational being-you may do this, and the idea that he was born to be free will survive it all. It is allied to his hope of immortalityis the ethereal part of his nature, which oppression cannot reach—it is a torch lit up in his soul by the hand of the Deity, and never meant to be extinguished by the hand of man . . .

If gentlemen do not see nor feel the evil of Slavery whilst this Federal Union lasts, they will see and feel it when it is gone; they will see and suffer it then, in a magnitude of deso lating power, to which the "pestilence that walketh at noonday" would be a blessing-to which the malaria that is now threatening extinction to the "eternal city," as the proud one hood, who has been accustomed to look to him of the Pontiffs and the Cæsars is called, would be as refreshing and as balmy as the first breath of spring to the chamber of disease.

> clared, from the very commencement of this debate, by the most decided enemies of abolition themselves, as well as others, that this property is an "evil"-that it is a dangerous property. Yes, sir; so dangerous has it been represented to be, even by those who desire to retain it, that we have been reproached for speaking of it otherwise than in fireside whispers—reproached for entertaining debate upon it in this Hall; and the discussion of it with open doors, and to the general ear, has been charged upon us as a climax of rashness and folly, which threatens issues of calamity to our country. It is, then, a danger-ous property. No one disguises the danger of this property—that it is inevitable, or that it is increasing. How, then, is the Government to avert it? By a precautionary and preventive legislation, or by permitting it to "grow with our growth" until it becomes inlerable, and then correcting it by the sword

[After meeting, in an impressive and dignified manner, the facetious remarks of another member of the House, who considered the insurrection as a "petty affair," and wished, by his wit, to turn the whole scene into ridicule, J. McDowell read a number of extracts from leters, written by and to the most distinguished characters in the State, respecting the dismay and terror which almost universally pervaded the minds of the citizens in every part of the

Now, sir, I ask you—I ask gentlemen—i conscience to say, Was this a "petty affair? I ask you whether that was a petty affair which startled the feelings of your whole population; which threw a portion of it into alarm—a porwhich threw a portion of it into alarm—a por-tion of it into panie; which wrung out from an affrighted people the thrilling ery, day after day conveyed to your Executive, "We are in peril of our lives, send us arms for defence." Was that a "petty affair," which drove fami-lies from their homes, which assembled women and children in crowds, and without shelter, at places of common refuge, in every condition of weakness and infirmity, under every suffering which want and pain and terror could inflict. yet willing to endure all-willing to meet death from famine, death from climate, death from hardships-preferring anything, rather, to the horrors of meeting it from a domestic assassin?
Was that a "petty affair," which erected a
peaceful and confiding portion of the State into
a military camp; which outlawed from pity
the unfortunate beings whose brothers had offended; which barred every door, penetrated every bosom with fear or suspicion; which so banished every sense of security from every man's dwelling; that, let a hoof or a horn but break upon the silence of the night, and an aching throb would be driven to the heart, the ausband would look to his weapon, and mother would shudder and weep upon her

Was it the fear of Nat Turner, and his deluded drunken handful of fellows, which produced, or could produce, such effects? Was it this that induced distant counties, where the very name of Southampton was strange, to arm and equip for a struggle? No, sir; it was the suspicion eternally attached to the slave him-self—the suspicion that a Nat Turner might be in every family; that the same bloody deed could be acted over at any time, and in any place; that the materials for it were spread through the land, and always ready for a like explosion. Nothing but the force of this with-ering apprehension—nothing but the paralyzing and deadening weight with which it falls upon and prostrates the heart of every man who has helpless dependents to protect—noth-ing but this could have thrown a brave people into consternation, or could have made any portion of this powerful Commonwealth, for a

single instant, to have quailed and trembled. This Commonwealth, in the late war, stood the shock of England's power, and the skill of England's veterans, with scarce a moment of public disquiet. Admiral Cockburn, with his incendiary spirit, and backed by his incendiary myrmidons, alarmed not the State—struck no fear into its private families; and had his spirit been tenfold more savage than it was, and his army an hundredfold stronger, and had he plied every energy and pledged every faculty of his soul to the destruction of the State, he could not have produced one moment of that terror Extract from the speech of Thomas Marshall, of For private security which seizes upon all at the Fauquier.

Wherefore, then, object to Slavery! Because enemy in the field, would have warred an open in religious to the white Wherefore, then, object to Slavery! Because enemy in the field, would have warred an open it is ruinous to the whites—retards improvement, roots out an industrious population, ban- the land. But an insurgent enemy wars at the ing a subject of consideration. It addresses

fireside, makes his battle-ground in the chamber, and seeks, at the hour of repose, for the life of the slumbering and the helpless. No wonder, sir, that the gentleman from Bruns-wick. [Mr. Gholson.] with his sensibilities aroused by the acts and the full energies of "they filled the mind with the most appalling apprehensions." Why, from the earliest period of our history

lative debate or to the public press, and spoken only in mysterious whispers around the domes-tic hearth? Because a sense of security required, or was thought to require, this course.
Why, sir, is this mystery now dispelled? Why has the grave opened its " ponderous and mar-ble jaws!" Why is the subject openly and freely discussed in every place, and under every form? Because a general sense of inscurity pervades the land, and our citizens are deeply impressed with the belief that something must be done. The numerous petitions and memo-rials which crowd your table furnish abundant evidence of this truth. They may mistake the remedy, but they indicate most clearly that some action is imperiously required at our hands—that the evil has attained a magnitude which demands all the skill and energy of prompt and able legislation. It is contended, on the other hand, that nothing efficient can be accomplished, and that any proceedings by this Legislature will reduce the value of prop erty, and endanger the security of the people With respect to the first consideration, he would say that the price of property can never be in juriously affected by a system which would operate on that portion only of the slaves who belong to masters desirous to liberate them, or to sell them for their own benefit, at a reduced price. The effect, if any, upon the residu must be to enhance their value. As to the other and more serious objection, he would remark that it constitutes, and must forever constitute, an obstacle to abolition, requiring all the wisdom and discretion of Legislature and people; but the removal of free blacks, or the purchase and deportation of slaves, can involve no danger. If, indeed, the whole fabric shall totter to its fall, when touched by the gentlest hand, it must rest on a precarious foundation If danger lurks under just, benignant legislation, aiming to relieve both master and slave— to combine justice with humanity—will the period ever come when it will be safe to act?

But, admitting the subject cannot be approached without danger now, the great question for us to determine is, whether, by delay, it may not become fearfully worse, and in process of time attain a magnitude far transcend-ing our feeble powers. We owe it to our chil-dren to determine whether we or they shall incur the hazard of attempting something. Gentlemen say, Let things alone; the evil wil correct itself. Sir, we may let things alone, but they will not let us alone. We cannot correct the march of time, nor stop the current of events. We cannot change the course of nature, nor prevent the silent but sure operatio of causes now at work."

Extracts from the speech of Philip A. Bolling of Buckingham.

The time will come-and it may be sooner than many are willing to believe—when this oppressed and degraded race cannot be held as hey now are-when a change will be effected. by means abhorrent, Mr. Speaker, to you, and to the feelings of every good man. The wounded adder will recoil, and sting

the foot that tramples upon it. The day is fast approaching when those who oppose all action upon this subject, and, instead of aiding in devising some feasible plan for freeing their coun-try from an acknowledged curse, cry "impossible" to every plan suggested, will curse their perverseness and lament their folly.

Those gentlemen who hug Slavery to their osoms, and "roll it as a sweet morsel under their tongues," have been very lavish in their denunciations of all who are for stirring one inch on this subject.

There is, sir, a "still, small voice," which aks to the heart of man in a tone too clear that every system of Slavery is based upon injustice and oppression. If gentlemen disregard it now, and full their consciences to sleep, they may be aroused to a sense of their danger when it is too late to repair their errors. However the employment of slave labor might be defended, gentlemen would not, could not, justify the traffic in human beings. High-minded men should disdain to hold their fellow-creatures as articles of traffic, disregarding

all the ties of blood and affection, tearing asonder all those sympathies dear to men-dividing husbands and wives, parents and children, as they would cut asunder a piece of cotton cloth. They have hearts and feelings, like other men. How many a broken heart, how many a Rachel mourns, because her house is left unto her desolate! The time has come when these feelings could not be suppressed—the day would come when they could not be resisted. Slavery was, and had long been, offensive to the moral feelings of a large proportion of the community. Their lips had been sealed, but their minds had been unfettered; many had thought, and thought deeply, on the subject. This, sir, is a Christian community. They read in their Bibles, "Do unto all men as you would have them do unto you;" and this golden rule and Slavery are hard to reconcile. Gentlemen may, perhaps, curl the lip of scorn at such conside ations; but such a feeling existed in Virginia. Extracts from the speech of Charles J. Faulkner.

Mystery in State affairs, I have always considered impolitic and unwise. It is unsuited to the genius of this Government, which is based upon the rights of the people to a free and full examination of whatever concerns their inter-est and happiness. Sir, they pay you fer your counsel; they have a right to it. danger, let us know it, and prepare for the worst. If Slavery can be eradicated, * * * * * let us get rid of it. If it cannot,

let that melancholy fact be distinctly ascer tained; and let those who are, we have been told, now awaiting with painful solicitude the result of your determination, pack up their household goods and find among the forests and prairies of the West that security and re-pose which their native land does not afford. heard, since the agitation of this question, i

Wherever the voice of your people has been has sustained your determination, and called for the present inquiry. I have heard of courts. meetings, county petitions, and county memoand the south. They are all, with one voice, against the continuance of Slavery—none for it. The press, too—that mirror of public sentiment-that concentrated will of a whole community-has been heard from one extremity of the State to the other. Its power is with us its moral force is united, efficient, and encour-Again, sir, I ask, what new fact has

curred-what new light has dawned upon the gentleman from Mecklenburg-that we should disappoint the hopes which our first manly decision gave? Does not the same evil exist? Is it not increasing? Does not every day give it permanency and force? Is it not rising, like permanency and cortentous cloud, above the horibe called upon to retrace our course, and to zon, extending its deep and sable volumes athwart the sky, and gathering in its impene trable folds the active materials of elemental war? And yet, shall we be requested to close our eyes to the danger, and, without an effort without even an inquiry, to yield to the im-pulses of a dark and withering despair? Sir is this manly legislation? Is it correct? honest legislation? Is it acting with that fidel ity to our constituents which their sacred in terest requires?

tionary—if the worthy gentleman from Meck-lenburg and Brunswick [Mr. Gholson] could give us any assurance that it would not increase until it reaches a point which is too horrible to contemplate, I might be induced to nequiesce in the course which their pathetic appeals sug-gest. But when they know it is otherwise when they know that each successive blow is detracting from the small space of ground left between us and the angry ocean chafing at our feet, how can they advise us-how can they advise their own constituents-to remain still, when the next advancing wave may overwhelm them and us in hopeless ruin and destruction But, sir, vain and idle is every effort to stran

But, sir, vain and idle is every entry of the gle this inquiry! As well might you attempt to chain the ocean, or to stay the avenging thunderbolts of Heaven, as to drive the people thunderbolts of which may result in their

itself too strongly to our interests, to our passions, and to our feelings. There is county, not a town, not a newspaper, not a fire-side, in the State, where the subject is not fully and fearlessly canvassed; and shall we, the constitutional inquest of the Commonwealth, such an enemy as this, should have said that sworn to make a true inquiry into all the grievances of the people, and to the best of our abil-ity to apply the remedy—shall we alone be found to shrink from this inquiry?

The member from whose speech we gave the last extract, after contrasting the prosperity and to the massacre of Southampton, was a silence, deep and a wful as that of death, observed upon comfort of the free States over those involved in Slavery, pertinently asks: "To what, sir, is all this ascribable?" and emphatically replies: this subject! Why was it forbidden in legis-"To that vice in the organization of society, by which one half of its inhabitants are engaged, in interest and feeling, against the other half: to that unfortunate state of society in which free men regard labor as disgraceful, and slaves shrink from it as a burden tyrannically imposed upon them;" "to that condition of things in which half a million of your population can feel no sympathy with the society in the prosperity of which they are forbidden to participate, and no attachment to a Government at whose hands they

receive nothing but injustice."

Mr. FAULKNER. * * * * * * Sir, shall we be told that the West has no cause for alarm-that the character and pursuits of our people present insuperable obstacles to the existence of an excessive slave population amongst us? Sir, the suggestion is false; it is contradicted by the past history of that portion of the State-by uniform observation and ex-perience. The slave population has increased since 1790, in the country west of the Blu Ridge, in a ratio over the whites, equal to its increase in other portions of Virginia. It has increased in a ratio alarming to every western patriot. In 1790, there were, west of the Blue Ridge, but 15 178 slaves. By the ceneus of 1830, it appears that we have now 53,437. It has thus nearly quadrupled in forty years. It such is the result of the ordinary sources of the increase of that population - exposed to continual drain, as has been the case with us by exportation to the Southern markets-what I pray you, will be the ratio of its increase, now that the Southern markets are closed, and the flood-gates of an eastern redundancy are opened upon us! It presents a prospect too horrible to contemplate

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A NY person who will send his address, and one A dollar in an envelope, post paid, to E. JORDAN, Newbury, Vermont, shall have sent him by mail, post paid, in return, a paper informing him—lst, how to make four qualities of feed for bees, costing from 3 to 6 cents per lb., from which good honey is produced; 2d, giving information how to use the feed with any common hive, with drawers; 3d, giving information how to prevent fighting and robbing while in the process of feed of Knowing that multitudes are desirous to obtain the above information, and that it is more than an equivalent for the dollar asked, no apology is needed for this notice. Please send a gold dollar, or a current bill on some New England bank, when possible.

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Oct. 20—3mi

For all four of the Reviews A GENTLEMAN who has been a working member of the Liberty and Free Democratic parties the last ten years, who has considerable ability as a writer, desires a situation as Editor of a Free Democratic ter, desirés a situation as Editor of a Free Democrati paper. Good reférences and testimonials given. Ad dress E., Felicity, Clermont county, Ohio. Nov. 24.

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Guffey, A. McKenzie, Graham & McCoy, Cincinnati,
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